

**MESTRADO**

MULTIMÉDIA - ESPECIALIZAÇÃO EM CULTURA E ARTES

**NEW MEDIA AND POLITICAL PARTICIPATION  
OF CAMBOIDAN YOUTH**

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**M**

**2015**

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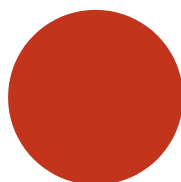
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July 2015

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# Resume

This project is the one-year individual assignment for research dissertation to end the master degree in multimedia at the University of Porto in Portugal. The project conducts in close scope of using new media for political participation within Cambodia. Cambodia is a developing country in Southeast East, and its latest National Assembly election was done in July 2013 in the circumstance that new media were well used for political involvements among young citizens.

The goal of this project is to contribute the powerful keynotes to understand the interaction of media in politics for democratic development. The purpose of project is to investigate on the comprehension of users on new media for political participation. Also it is to discover on significant motive aspects for using the new media in politics.

According to the study, new media is the extraordinary trend for exposing senses of democracy among Cambodian citizens. It is the gate of exploring for freedom of expression and social involvement. New media also urge the individuals with the senses of collecting and sharing information, being as the citizen journalists. Based on Use and Gratification theory, individuals access new media for their personal motivation, been seen for information, socialisation, personal identity/ self-expression, while entertainment is not for the choice.

# Abstract

With the rational background on the integration of Cambodian new media users into political participation, the study intended to explore two main points on the level of understanding and rhetorical reason of users exposing to new media for engagement in politics applying use and gratification theory. The study is implemented with survey questionnaires collected from 401 Cambodian citizens through online. Finding reveals that new media is the extraordinary trend for exposing senses of democracy among Cambodian citizens. It is the gate of exploring for freedom of expression and social involvement. New media also urge the individuals with the senses of collecting and sharing information, being as the citizen journalists. According to the Use and Gratification theory, individuals access new media for their personal motivation, been seen for information, socialisation, personal identity/ self-expression and entertainment. Information is the most common motivation among users while entertainment is the less one.

**Key words:** New media, Internet, political participation, social media, use and gratification



# Acknowledgements

From the perspective as a writer of this research, I am really pleased to thank to following people who spent their valuable time to make my research paper appear. Firstly and sincerely, I greatly thank to professor Nuno Moutinho who is my supervisor to comment and edit my tasks. He dedicates his time and efforts for giving comments and discussing by face-to-face or through internet. I sincerely would dedicate my thanks to my friends, who give me comments and help in pre-test of this study. At meantime, I am please to give my thank to all respondentes who spent times and ideas to fill in suvey study. Their helps are really meaningful and grateful for my study. Last but not least, I would like to express my greatly thank to my course program in multimedia at University of Porto that provide me a chance for doing this dissertation. This dissertation has given me more ideas and knowledge about the skill of multimedia.





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# Abbreviation and Symbols

CCP	Cambodian People's Party
CNRP	Cambodia National Rescue Party
DVDs	Digital Versatile Disc or Digital Video Disc
NEC	National Election Committee
VR	Virtual Reality
AI	Artificial Intelligence
CDs	Compat Disc
EAVI	European Association for Viewers Interests
UNTAC	United Nations Transitional Authority in Cambodia
ASEAN	Association of Southeast Asian Nations
WMC	Women's Media Center
ABC RA	Australian Broadcasting Corporation Raido
BBC	British Broadcasting Corporation
RFI	Radio France International
RFA	Radio Free Asia
VOA	Voice of America
ISPs	Internet service provides
NGOs	Non-Governmental Organizations

## **Chapter 1:**

# **Introduction**

### **1.1 Contextual Background**

New media for Cambodians referring to the use of Internet via digital devices such as computers, smart phone and tablet. This media has been influent not only in the social contexts for changing the leisure activities of new generation of Cambodian citizens, but also has enforced the young citizens who are known as the main Internet users into political involvement. It means that new media or Internet has become the effective tool to enable the users to explore social issues and new development, and also to express and share opinion on the social issues (Greenwood 2013).

The latest Cambodia's National Assembly Election in 28 July 2013 is the rhetorical case to understand how new media are used greatly by civil citizens and politicians for disseminating information and expressing opinions on political issues. The daily newspaper wrote that social media played main role to depict two videos of electoral fraudulent in 28 July 2013. The first video uploaded on Facebook gained 3,000 shares and long online comments revealing that a voter alleged as Vietnamese was seen at polling station for vote while election obliged only Cambodian citizens. Second video with 300 shares in less than one hour and a pile of comments on Facebook shown that the indelible ink used to identify for whom already had voted can be washed off (Woodside 2013). New media are used for revealing on the irregularity during election.

Sooner after the result of the fifth Cambodia's National Assembly Election in 28 July 2013 confirmed by the National Election Committee (NEC) that ruling Cambodian People's Party (CPP) received the narrow victory on the opposition Cambodia National Rescue Party (CNRP): 68 against 55 of 123 seats in the parliamentary, Sam Raisy a leader of opposition party CNRP



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expressed his depreciation on one of the most popular social networks known as “Facebook”. Later, there were many reactions agreed to his post through comments, like, and shares. And online rallies on the elective irregularities also conducted by his young supportive sympathizers started to grow throughout online forum (Kasztelan 2013).

“This quick announcement of the temporary election results by the NEC shows it seems to be under pressure by a powerful person, ” An opposition CNRP leader Sam Rainsy wrote on his Facebook page, quoted in AsianCorrespondent.com.

With the irregularity of election, the opposition party CNRP decided to boycott the parliamentary while there was no good solution toward the act of massive frauds of election (Greenwood 2013). Therefore, the politics was deadlock and caused several times of protestation in the city, conducted by CNRP, which led to deaths, injured, and arrests. And each of protestation activities were posted broadly on new media included Facebook, YouTube, and online mainstream media. In an online article of Radio Free Asia entitled ‘Deadly Post-Election Violence Erupts in Phnom Penh’ post on 15 September 2013 was shared by 857 Facebook users and received swath of public interests following the content described the first protestation of CNRP toward the polling irregularities participated by estimated 20,000 protesters fell into violence between the CNRP’s protesters and group of national security—resulted one person died, three injured, and ten was arrested (Ponnudurai 2013).

The fifth Cambodia’s National Assembly Election was deemed as the most heated election in the a decade of Cambodian history, engaging Cambodian citizen under 25 years old into political involvement, especially via new media by Facebook (Greenwood 2013). Most of social irregular information and activities are openly share and post on new media via Internet. Most of users are the new generation of young Cambodian citizen who can access to smart phones, laptops and computers via Internet. Estimated 3.5 millions voters were young citizen, aged from 18 to 30 years old, out of 9.6 millions of registered voters for the 28 July election (Phnom Penh Post 2013).

Youths’ participation in politics and information contribution of politics in the latest election (2013) is far different from the past election in 1993, 1998, 2003, and 2008 when new media was not broadly acknowledged by the people, resulted to that most information was not wildly reach to the grassroots, and youth’s participation in politics was low. Today, most youths who are likely more understanding on the uses of new media have participated much not only sharing information and expressing ideas but also creating the news contents by taking photos/videos and posting on the personal pages for the broad discussion and social awareness.

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New media function to increase social awareness and to be tool for social advocacy (Greenwood 2013) with ease and real-time.

### **1.2 Project**

This project is the one-year individual assignment for research dissertation to end the master degree in multimedia at the University of Porto in Portugal. The project conducts in close scope of using new media for political participation within Cambodia. Cambodia is a developing country in Southeast East, and its latest National Assembly election was done in July 2013 in the circumstance that new media were well used for political involvements among young citizens. The goal of this project is to contribute the powerful keynotes to understand the interaction of media in politics for democratic development. The purpose of project is to investigate on the comprehension of users on new media for political participation. Also it is to discover on significant motive aspects for using the new media in politics.

### **1.3 Project Problem/Hypothesis/Objectives**

#### **- Project Problems:**

With the rational background on the integration of Cambodian new media users into political participation, the project has identified on two problems of using media for political participation. First problem is how users understand on accessing to new media for political participation; and second the rhetorical reasons that provide the users to access new media for political participation.

Here, we explore on the Internet utilities for political engagements in Cambodia as the case study that new media is used to participate in the politics, addressing the main problems to discover insights and to establish keynote information on understanding the users' competence of new media literacy and motivation of new media in political participation in Cambodia.

#### **- Hypothesizes:**

Looked into the matters of fact based the above evidences, we have found some hypotheses of the research that provide more understanding on the research problems. Here, they are:

- *Hypothesis 1:* The accessibility of Internet such as Facebook, Twitter, and YouTube via smart phones and computers empowers the citizens to know more on political information and enhance to participate in politics by new media. Accessing and sharing information, expressing idea and giving feedback are the basic activities which people do to participate in politics by new media.

- *Hypothesis 2:* New media usher the politicians and Cambodian citizens new broad atmosphere for expressing and setting agenda on politics with carefree of thread and scary while message can reach large audiences with borderless global tech and skills.

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### **- Project Objectives:**

The project aimed to:

1. Seek for the demographic information of users of new media for political participation such as sex, age, region, level of education, background and current position.
2. Demonstrate on the digital devices and Internet platform that users access for political participation.
3. Analyze the understanding level of young people to use new media as tool in order to cry out their expressions/opinions for political participation.
4. Analyze on the users' perception toward using new media for political participation
5. Explore on the communicative activities of new media users toward using new media for political participation
6. Identify on the key motivation/reasons of young people to access new media for political participation.

### **- Research Question:**

The whole project will address the following research questions:

- Question 1: How do Cambodian citizens understand on the use of new media in political participation?
- Question 2: Why do citizen use new media for political participation?

## **1.4 Methodology**

This study analyses the impact of new media on the civic and political engagement of young Cambodians with 401 respondents who are about 0.043% of total Internet users of 927,500. The result is possible to obtain insights on two major points of youths' political participation via new media: understanding of using new media and motivation for political participation.

### **Population Size and Sample Size**

According to Internet World Stat, the number of Cambodian Internet users is 927,500 on June 30, 2014. It equaled to 6.0% penetration of the population while there are 742,220 Facebook subscribers in December 31, 2012 (Internet World Stat), which 50% of them aged between 18 and 24 and 28 % are between 25 and 34 years old in 2012 (Socialbanker, 2012). Then, those aged between 18 and 34 are also considered as main Internet users in Cambodia.

Therefore, this study intends to explore on 401 new media (internet) users in Cambodia by selecting from two main aged groups of users. First, group is classified by age between 15 and 24 known as 'youth' (United Nation in Cambodia, 2009). Youth is considered as a dynamic, economic, social and cultural force in Cambodia, which there is around 32% of population in 2013 (BBC Media Action, 2012). Another group is the users from age of 25 to 34, which this group in

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Cambodia is identified as more educated, independent and critical on social issues as well as life experiences.

### **Sampling Technique and Data Process**

With quantitative approach, this study is adopted with probability sample based on simple random sampling in the picture of sharing questionnaire online through email and Facebook groups. The researcher doesn't know who are willing to complete the questionnaires. After that, the research just waits for any responses to his contributing questionnaire. With this sampling, the identities of respondents are not known in advance and it can reach to a large scale of respondent that can avoid biases in data collection.

### **Questionnaire**

The first part of the questionnaire is focused on the understanding of new media in political participation. It consists of 5 questions about frequency of using new media, level of trust on new and traditional media, perceptions about the use of news media for political participation, and identification of activities used for political participation. For the second part, we focus on the young adults' motivations for using new media in the context of political participation by applying uses and gratifications theory. For the last part, we are concerned about information of demography, and nature of using new media of the respondents. Please refer to the questionnaire presented on the appendix B. Before heading for online survey, we did a pre-test with a group of Cambodian people. After that, we decided to change some questions. Please look at the appendix A on page: 46.

## **1.5 Structure of Research**

The project characterized into five main chapters. The first chapter is known as introduction, which guides on the background of research, information of project, project objective and methodology. The second chapter focuses on the bibliography reveals that reveal on the related study and some conceptual information of politics and media in Cambodia. Third chapter will discuss on the view synoptic on the finding into figure. The fourth chapter will address on the detail implementation of finding in text and graph. The fifth chapter reveal on the conclusion and the expectation of future study. The references and appendix are attached at the last part of paper.



## **Chapter 2:**

# **Bibliography Reviews**

### **2.1 Introduction**

Internet for voting initiated by Arizona Democratic Party in American in 2000 (Mohen and Glidden 2001), approaching social media for political campaign by Barack Obama in 2008 (Lutz 2009), operating social networks (Facebook, Twitter, and text message) for political revolution in Moldova in 2009 (Shirky 2011), and Iranian anti-government movement in June 2009 resulted from posting the video of gunshot death of Neda Agha-Soltan circulated on YouTube, Facebook, and Twitter (Safranek 2012) are the case studies of using new media to impact on political issues. This phenomenon has transformed the way of accessing and sharing information in the globe, enhancing the publics certainly to engage into the social and political issues via new media (Internet). At the same time, it is becoming the thoughtful topic to be discussed globally at the latest age of communication technology.

The prospect of being able to engage in politics via new media describes the possibility of the expressing the opinion on the social issues for public's expression and social democracy. As well as, it also took part to capture the activities of the politicians and to reveal visibly on the social matters around the world, enhancing the citizens to give more attentions on and be aware of how going on in the current society. New media changes the concepts of citizens in the processes for democracy, expression and human right including how the people are able to access to information, share, and comment on social interaction and participation via many means of communication such as Internet (MySpace, Facebook, Twitter, YouTube, Blog... etc.). Internet and World Wide Web is used for political participation via social media is becoming the controversial aspect of debate to claim for political movement in the society.

With the latest advance of communication technology, new media is becoming the

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effective tool for political participation, which is one of the convenient solutions for citizens to show their participation critically and intellectually in politics challenging for social movement and heading to free expression, social justices, social welfare, and more. To matter of political participation via new media, this study concerns with strong basic elements to address two major questions of research.

### **2.2 Definition of New Media**

New media is defined as “the products of mediated communication technologies coming along with digital computer” (Creeber and Martin, 2009, p. 2). It associated with Internet and World Wide Web, digital television, digital cinema, personal computer, DVDs (Digital Versatile Disc or Digital Video Disc), CDs (Compact Disc), Portable media player (such as the MP3 player), mobile phones, video or computer games, virtual reality (VR), and artificial intelligence (AI) (Creeber and Martin, 2009). The aspect of this media is explained as the content area, which the user can access whenever and wherever on the digital devices (computer, cellphone, or tablet...), while user can interact with feedback, comment, and other participation. It is also the real-time generation of new and unregulated content (Bruno and Dabrowski, 2014).

A report of Kahne and Cohen (2012) also raised that people use new media for political participation since new media provides the senses of greater independent in political realm without circumventing from gatekeeper of information or influences. It also boosts the engagement with the audiences for social campaign or movement, and it's also able to shape the news agenda in media system and social dialogues. Last, using new media can reach to the large audiences with ease and cheap prices (Kahne and Cohen 2012). Bimber (2001) identified that adult in U.S. use Internet for following up the activities of politicians and officials, for contacting public official and candidates, for expressing the views on government or politics to others, for learning political issues, and for browsing political information with no specific purposes (Bimber 2001).

### **2.3 Understanding of Political Participation**

Political participation is defined as any individual activities of the citizen, which they involve for influencing and supporting government and politics (Dario and Ilcheva, 2010). Political participation can be seen as a view of voting, attending a gathering, sending a letter, or committing any illegal acts for political changes (SparkNotes Editors, nd.). There are three types of political participation (SparkNotes Editors, nd.). First, conventional participation refers to a routine or behavior (Dario and Ilcheva, 2010) of being good citizens, attending for regular election, and committing to join in political activities (campaign, donation and volunteering) for activist groups with strong commitment to political party. Second, unconventional participation

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explained as any activities that are considered legal but are shown inappropriate manner such as signing petitions, supporting boycotts, and organizing demonstrations or protests. Last, illegal participation described as the illegal activities to show in political participation including political assassination, terrorism, damaging the opponent's property, committing vandalism (SparkNotes Editors, nd.).

According to SparkNotes Editors claimed, there are four reasons of participation and nonparticipation in politics. Reasons of political participation are listed: idealism (participation because of believing in strong particular idea), responsibility (participation because of citizenship duty and role), self-interest (participation because of expecting for any personal benefits or profits), and enjoyment (participation because of enjoying to public activity or friend's motivation). (SparkNotes Editors, nd.) For the reasons of nonparticipation are also raised with four ideas—contentment (because people satisfy with the present situation), freedom (because people have freedom not to participate), apathy (people don't know about politics and don't care), and alienation (people feel that anyone in the power are the same, ignoring their voices). (SparkNotes Editors, nd.)

### **2.4 Perceptive Understanding of New Media**

To get more comprehensive in new media literacy, we looked at the element of media politics in general. Media politics is defined as a product of goal-oriented behavior with the participation of three main actors: politicians, journalists and citizens. (Zaller 1999) In many studies identified that politician plays main role to set agenda through mass communications delivered by journalists in order to reach the specific group of citizens. And journalists desire for news to response to their duties as well as their readers. This can be seen more in traditional media that citizens mostly behave as the receivers. In new media, it provides more spaces for the citizens not only to receive or feedback news, but also to create their own contents of media in order to express their opinions on a specific situation faster and easier ways. Therefore, new media literacy to understand the ability of users to the tool is one of the rhetorical stuffs to measure on the concept and behaviors of the users.

The study of EAVI for the European Commission (2009) focused on the 'Study on Assessment Criteria for Media Literacy Levels' in the country of Europe revealed three criteria that it used to measure on individual competence of the media literacy including use, critical understanding and communicative abilities. It is also similar to the ideas of Baran and Darvis (2009), who define media literacy as ability to access, to analyze, to evaluate and to communicate to specific type of media contentes (Baran and Darvis 2009). Clearly elaborated, 'use and access' is implied to required skills to use and access media contentes (Livingstone



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2003), while ‘analyze and evaluate’ intended to examine on the critical thinking or understanding of users by making corrected judgment on media contents; and last communicative ability referred to the required knowledge to construct and contribute the messages (Center for Media Literacy 2008).

### 2.4.1 Use and Access

‘Use and access’ concern with the technical skill of using the device for access to media. According to EAVI for the European Commission (2009), it classified the technical into three components such as computer and Internet use, balance and active use of media, and advance Internet use. In the figure below, it demonstrated the clear component with the indicators of each.

*Table 1: Indicators of use skill in media literacy*

Criteria	Components	Indicators
Use Skill (Technical skill)	Computer and Internet use	- Computer skills - Internet skills
	Balance and active use of media	- Internet use - News paper circulation - Going to the cinema - Reading books - Mobile phone subscriptions
	Advance Internet use.	- Buying by Internet - Read news by Internet - Internet banking

*(Source: EAVI for the European Commission 2009)*

### 2.4.2 Critical Understanding

Critical understanding referred to the cognitive skill that can analyze and evaluate on the understanding of users to the contents of media. It is a criterion that can learn more on the comprehensive aspects of the media users. EAVI for the European Commission (2009) identified three component on this criterion including understanding media content and its functioning, knowledge about media and media regulation, and user behavior. More detail on these three components, figure below demonstrate its indicators.

*Table 2: Indicators of critical thinking in media literacy*

Criteria	Components	Indicators
Critical thinking	Understanding media content and its functioning	- Reading text - Classifying written and audiovisual text - Distinguishing media content - Elements to which the user attaches importance to rely on the information - Classifying websites - Classifying media platform and interaction systems
	Knowledge	- Understanding media concentration and media pluralism

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about media and media regulation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Knowledge and opinion regarding the media regulation subject</li> <li>- Do you know which institution sanctions possible violations of the law operated by TV station</li> <li>- Do you know the authorized institution to turn to when you noticed something insulting, injurious or offending on TV, radio, or Internet?</li> <li>- Rules and rights applicable to media content</li> <li>- Perceptions of the watershed</li> <li>- Knowledge about regulation on Internet</li> <li>- Author/ use rights</li> </ul>
User behavior	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Exploring information and critical search of information</li> <li>- Checks made when visiting new websites</li> <li>- Judgments made about a website before entering personal details</li> </ul>

*(Source: EAVI for the European Commission 2009)*

### 2.4.3 Communicative Ability

Communicative ability focused on the activities that the users contributed what they understand from contents of media for social participation. It built the aspect of social relation, citizen participation, and content creation (EAVI for the European Commission 2009).

*Table 3: Indicators of communicative ability in media literacy*

Criteria	Components	Indicators
Communicative ability	Social relation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- User-created content</li> <li>- Creating a profile or sending a message in a social network</li> </ul>
	Citizen participation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Internet for cooperation</li> <li>- ‘User centricity’ on online public services</li> <li>- Citizen participation activities ever done</li> <li>- E-government usage by individuals</li> </ul>
	Content creation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Media production skills</li> <li>- Experience of creativity</li> <li>- User created content</li> </ul>

*(Source: EAVI for the European Commission 2009)*

Dan Gillmor (2008) wrote on report that citizens’ media participation tends to stand on two main forms: creation and distribution of media contents. Creation of media contents in the latest technology of communication become more common to most people who are with their own tools; example, computerize devices can be used for writing and composing text of their views while phone can generate most contents such as photos, videos, audios, and text messages. The content can be distributed in various mean by their possibilities (Gillmor 2008). Email, personal website, blog, and social network sites are best formats distributing and delivering their contents on new media easily and shortly. Also, those contents can reach from one to many, and many to the world via digital tools connected to Internet computerize devices and smart phone. This has

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changed the role of people from the formerly media consumers to media creators. And contents of media can basically come from common sense: ‘skepticism’, ‘judgment’, ‘understanding’ and ‘reporting’ (Gillmor 2008).

In new media, communication is commonly used such as delivering news, sending messages, updating status, chatting, sharing links and information, posting comments, giving helps or advices, organizing online groups, discussing and creating original media share on line. These are only common activities of communication via social network, which parallels to how people use new media (Kahne and Cohen 2012). The study of Kahne and Cohen (2012) examined on the new media and youth’s political participation emphasized on the activities of accessing to new media as the mean that that you can use for communication in circle of political participation in new media. The study also mentioned that activities can be revealed through both online and offline participation. And those activities were measured with eleven indicators (Kahne and Cohen 2012).

*Table 4: Eleven indicators of the activities using new media for political participation*

Criteria	Indicator
<b>Common activities in political participation</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>- Started or joined a political group on a social network site (like MySpace or Facebook),</li><li>- Forwarded or posted someone else’s political commentary or news related to a political campaign, candidate or issue,</li><li>- Contributed your own article, opinion piece, picture, or video about a political campaign, candidate or issue to an online news site,</li><li>- Forwarded or circulated funny videos or cartoons or circulated something artistic that related to a political candidate, campaign or political issues,</li><li>- Commented on a news story or blog about a political campaign, candidate, or issue,</li><li>- Written an e-mail or written a blog about a political campaign, candidate, or issue,</li><li>- Taken part in a protest, demonstration, or sit-in</li><li>- Participated in a boycott,</li><li>- Engaged in “buycotting”,</li><li>- Participated in an event where young people express their political views (such as a poetry slam, musical event, etc.),</li><li>- Been active in or joined a group that has worked to address social or political issues</li></ul>

*(Source: Kahne and Cohen 2012)*

## 2.5 Motivation based on Use and Gratification

When trying to understand the factors of motivation synthesized between audiences and media, many researchers have often connected to their studies to use and gratification theory. Katz, Blumler, and Gurevitch (1974) elaborate that uses and gratification theory provided the understanding on “the social and psychological origins of (2) needs, which generate (3) expectations of (4) the mass media and other sources, which lead to (5) differential patterns of media exposure (or engagement in other activities), resulting in (7) other consequences, perhaps

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mostly unintended ones" (p.20). The theory emphasized on five assumptions (McLeod and Becker, 1981 cited in Ancu and Cozma 2009). "First, the audience is active. Second, media use is goal-oriented. Third, media consumption fulfills a multitude of needs, from fantasy-escape to information-education. Fourth, people have enough self-awareness to know and articulate their reasons for using certain media. Finally, U&G have their origins in media content, exposure, and the context in which the exposure takes place" (Ancu and Cozma, 2009, p. 569). Regarding to new media consumption, Ruggiero (2000) explained that Internet featured more advanced than traditional media that Internet contributed at least with interactivity, de-massification, and asynchronicity. Williams, Rice, & Rogers (1988) defined Interactivity as "the degree to which participants in the communication process have control over, and can exchange roles in their mutual discourse" (p. 10), while "de-massification mean that a certain degree of the control of mass communication systems moves from the message producer to the media consumer" (p.13); finally, asynchronicity is also asynchronous which defined as way that allow user to access for sending and receiving messages at any convenient time that he or she is available (Williams, Rice, & Rogers, 1988).

Among available literature of uses and gratification framework, there are several useful categories of uses and gratification that provide more comprehensive concept on motivation to media. McQuail (2005) also raised four motive categories to access to media such as information, personal identity, Integration and Social Interaction and entertainment. Li (2005) who studies on the blogger's motivation also found out eight categories of blogging such as self-expression, social interaction, information, passing time, entertainment, personal advancement, self-documentation, and medium appeal. Whiting and Williams (2013) who studies on reason of using social media also found out with seven reason such as social interaction, information seeking, pass time, entertainment, relaxation, communicatory utility, and convenience utility. For another study of Sundar and Limperos (2013) who explore on uses and gratification for new media revealed with sixteen categories including realism, coolness, novelty, being there, agency-enhancement, community building, bandwagon, filtering/tailoring, ownness, interaction, activity, responsiveness, dynamic control, browsing/variety-seeking, scaffolding/navigation aids, and play/fun. And Ancu and Cozma (2009) who studied on the political involvement via on Myspace based on use and gratifications explain three categories that user access to politician profile; it included social utility, information and guidance, and entertainment.

With the evidence of above related studies, this study selected on particular categories that is believe to relate in political participation in new media. Those categories are information

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seeking, integration/social interaction, self-expression/agency-enhancement, entertainment, community building, and dynamic control.

*Table 5: The indicators of motivation based on uses and gratification theory*

Categories	Indicators
Information Seeking (Source: Sundar and Limperos 2013; Ancu and Cozma, 2009)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- It allows me to obtain a wide variety of information</li> <li>- It helps me to skim and check out various links</li> <li>- It allows me to surf for things that I am interested in</li> <li>- It allows me to browse freely.</li> <li>- To make up your mind about which candidate to support.</li> <li>- Because information is easy to obtain.</li> <li>- To find out more information about the candidate.</li> </ul>
Integration/social interaction (Source: Sundar and Limperos, 2013; Ancu and Cozma, 2009)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- I expect to interact with the system</li> <li>- I can perform a number of tasks</li> <li>- I can specify my needs and preferences on an ongoing basis</li> <li>- To meet other supporters of the candidate.</li> <li>- To find out what other people have to say</li> <li>- To engage in discussion with the candidate.</li> </ul>
Self-expression /Agency-enhancement (Source: Li, 2005; Sundar and Limperos 2013)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- My blog is now very much an expression of myself.</li> <li>- I felt much more comfortable on the Internet where I could express my deepest feelings.</li> <li>- You can express yourself with this tool unlike any other</li> <li>- It allows me to have my say</li> <li>- It allows me to assert my identity</li> <li>- It allows me to send my thoughts to many</li> <li>- It gives me the power to broadcast to my followers.</li> </ul>
Entertainment/ Fun (Source: Ancu and Cozma, 2009; Sundar and Limperos 2013)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- To pass time when I am bored and have nothing better to do.</li> <li>- Because it is entertaining</li> <li>- It is fun to explore</li> <li>- It lets me play</li> <li>- I enjoy escaping into a different world</li> </ul>
Community Building (Source: Sundar and Limperos 2013)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- I can connect with others</li> <li>- It allows me to expand my social network</li> <li>- It makes me realize that I am part of a community</li> <li>- It allows me to build social capital.</li> </ul>
Dynamic Control (Source: Sundar and Limperos 2013)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- It gives me control</li> <li>- It allows me to be in charge</li> <li>- I am able to control my interaction with the interface</li> <li>- I am able to influence how It looks</li> <li>- I am able to influence how it works.</li> </ul>

## **2.6 Cambodian Contextualized in Politics and Media**

### **2.6.1 Cambodian Political History Briefly**

Cambodian social context has been adapted the new structure of changes including culture and political governance by almost all twentieth century when Cambodia was under colonial of France in 1963. The arrival of France in the territory of Cambodia was the introduction of the new culture of living, art and political governance to the nations and it also was the beginning of disappearance of real Cambodian culture, morality and norm. After the colonial ended, Cambodia still obsessed with the new culture, and the modernized political structure has been implemented from the early phase of independence in 1953 (Jacobsen & Stuart-Fox, 2013). The political administration called “Sangkum Reastr Niyum” (People’s Socialist Community) was established and headed by the King Norodom Sihanouk for next 15 years. The people believed on the King Norodom Sihanouk, and he marginalized all political oppositions to gain power his hands for a model of the consolidation of power for the regimes (Jacobsen & Stuart-Fox, 2013).

In 1970, King Norodom Sihanouk were removed from being the head of state by coup, and power were replaced by the Prime Minister Lon Nol who turned the country into instability with power on the elite faction and descending in civil war (Sak 1978). After five years of civil war, Lon Nol’s military accepted defeat and victory went with Khmer Rouge led by Pol Pot in 17 April 1975. Pol Pot named the new regime as Democratic Kampuchea. However, the whole administration followed as communism with an organizational hierarchy supervised by Pol Pot at top. Under ruling of Pol Port, the country had disconnected to the world and people were killed as genocide and forcibly evacuated and worked with no freedom and enough foods. All outcomes from works were put as collective (Kiernan, 1998). This genocide regime was ended when Vietnamese invaded in December 1978 join by Kampuchea People’s Revolutionary Party.

Later Cambodia moved to People’s Republic of Kampuchea with influenced from Vietnamese counterparts as Marxist-Leninist ideology. Cambodian politics was backing by Vietnamese with Cambodian senior figures such as Heng Samrin, Hun Sen, and Chea Sim. In 1985, Hun Sen was promoted as Prime minister (Jacobsen & Stuart-Fox, 2013). The political landscape has changed since 1979 “from a uniquely extreme and nationalistic communism to a strange amalgam of authoritarianism and rampant capitalism.”(Harris, 2006, p.177). And 1989, Vietnamese forces withdrew form Cambodia when cold war between Soviet United States ended. After Vietnamese forces withdrew, United Nations took charge to deal with political problem in Cambodia (Jacobsen & Stuart-Fox, 2013).

In 1991, Cambodia reached to Paris Peace Agreement to end the political problem in Cambodia between People’s Republic of Kampuchea and the Coalition Government of

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Democratic Kampuchea (Prince Norodom Sihanouk's FUNCINPEC party, the party of Democratic Kampuchea, and the Khmer People's National Liberation Front). All opponents had designed new state, which Norodom Sihanouk became the king again and initiated to have National Election in 1993 organized by United Nations Transitional Authority in Cambodia (UNTAC) (Jacobsen & Stuart-Fox, 2013).

The result of the first election, Cambodia People's Party won over FUNCINPEC with 45 per cent to 38 per cent. But FUNCINPEC was not satisfied with the result. Under pressure from King Norodom Sihanouk and being threaten of civil war, the compromise reach to coalition government with co-prime minister (Jacobsen & Stuart-Fox, 2013). Coalition government was not running smoothly, and often had disagreement between each side that was the main obstacle to development, and resulted to the mini-military fighting in Phnom Penh on 05-06 July 1997, pushing FUNCINPEC out of the power (Stiftung 2014).

With the result of second election in July 1998, CPP led by Hun Sen owned 64 of the 122 seats and led the government, providing with political stability and better international cooperation by joining the Association of Southeast Asian Nation (ASEAN) in 30 April 1999 (UK Essays 2013). As a member of ASEAN improved Cambodia economic and attracted many foreign investors to the country, and this also influence the politics of Cambodia. In the election of 2003, the CPP still remain the votes on top at 73 of 123 seats and increased more in 2008 to 90 of 123 seats (Jacobsen & Stuart-Fox, 2013).

Latest election in 2013, CPP received 68 of 123 seats at the parliamentary, and remains holding power while opposition party CNRP owned 55 seats refused the result of election for that there were irregularities and frauds in election and appealed for establishment of a joint committee to investigate the allegations of vote fraud (Greenwood 2013). And CNRP remained boycott in parliamentary and led to one year political deadlock till July 2014, which those two parties—CPP and CNRP—signed on agreement to drop boycott of CNRP with CCP's agreement to release the 8 activists of CNRP who were imprisoned, to reform National Election Committee (NEC) with new installation of some CNRP members on panel in NEC for next election, expected in February 2018 (Prak 22 July 2014).

The new political system of the country followed within the framework of a parliamentary representative democratic monarchy with multi-party system (Constitutional Council 2010). Prime Minister is the head of government while king is the representative of the country. Power is divided into three braches (Constitutional Council 2010). Executive power implemented by royal government; legislative power is reinforced by the National Assembly of Cambodia and the Senate (COMFREL 2009; Constitutional Council 2010); and judicial power is stated in the Cambodia's constitution to be independent from the government, which the highest court is the

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Supreme Council of the Magistracy (Constitutional Council 2010). Chambers of the parliament of Cambodia is divided into two: National Assembly (lower house) and Senate (upper house). National Assembly consists of 123 members of parliament, and the members are elected for five-year term by proportional representation (COMFREL 2009). Senate composed of 61 members which 57 members are elected non-universally every 6 years (Constitutional Council 2010). To complete 61 members, king nominates two Senators and other two are nominated by National Assembly (The Khmer Institute of Democracy, nd.).

### **2.6.2 Cambodian Media Understanding**

Cambodia's media history can be noticed with the first existing of newspapers in 1920s a period of French colonization, beginning with three newspapers—two written in French and one in Vietnamese. And present of radio came in 1947 launched by the state (LICAHDO 2008). Within several regimes of Cambodia after French colonization, Cambodian media played the key role for spreading propaganda messages, enhancing boundaries of free expression, and repressing social contexts. Media still restrict with censorship, propaganda, threat and prohibition even Cambodia signed on agreement of the “1948 Universal Declaration on Human Rights” and “the 1966 International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights” for enshrining freedom of opinion and expression (LICAHDO 2008). Recently, most media are owned by politicians and elite groups affiliated mostly from ruling party who still have strong influences on national media including the contents, dissemination, and circulation. Only few international media agencies are neutral and independent. Cambodian press freedom is considered “Not Free”, according Freedom House (Freedom House 2013).

#### ***- Traditional Media: Cambodia's Print Media, Radio, and Television***

Print media is not popular among Cambodian citizens. Only two percent of Cambodians mostly in urban areas keep reading newspapers (LICAHDO 2008). The challenges of print media are considered with poor distribution network, cost associated with price of newspaper, and low level of reading popularity (Roberts 2011). Up to 2012, only 30 newspapers publish regularly among 300 newspapers registered at the Ministry of Information (LICAHDO 2008). Most national newspapers published in Khmer language belonged to business elite of politicians and ruling party that contents are more likely to focus on business initiatives, major political events, anniversaries, birthday (Roberts 2011), robberies, and accidents (LICAHDO 2008). Foreign language newspapers in English and French such as the Cambodia Daily, the Phnom Penh Post, and Cambodge Soir are considered independent and neutral (Roberts 2011).

Radio is more popular in remote areas where television coverage or newspaper cannot reach. There are about 160 radio stations registered in Ministry of Information in 2013



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(LICAHDO 2008). Most radio is on side of ruling party, mostly broadcasted on entrainment, education, and advertisement. In nationwide, only few Khmer radio stations are publically considered independent and fair— CCIM's Sarika FM, Radio Beehive (LICAHDO 2008), and NGOs radio station called Women's Media Center (WMC) (Roberts 2011) . WMC and Beehive Radio relay the broadcasting to international Khmer language service including ABC RA, Radio Free Asia (RFA), Radio France International (RFI), and Voice of Americans (VOA) (Roberts 2011) . "There are four international radio stations broadcasting in Cambodia: ABC RA, BBC World Trust Service broadcasting in English, Radio France International (RFI) broadcasting in French, and China Radio International broadcasting in English, Khmer, and Chinese." (Roberts 2011, p.14)

Television receives broadly most popularities from majority of Cambodian population. Television is more overtaking than other media for public communication, and it tightly controlled by the government. There are 11 television stations in Cambodia and all of them are owned by either government or hybrid of government and private groups who allied to ruling party Cambodia People's Party (Roberts 2011). Most contents on television are for entertainment with talked show, games, quizzes, concerts, TV drama and movies which news contents are more likely on social issue of social security, traffic accidents, businesses, and economics. News contents are mostly pre-broadcast, and consist less than two or three hours a day. Because government owned televisions, government has more chances to promote their propaganda on television than opposition party which accessibility for television broadcasting is limited or no broadcasting (Roberts 2011).

### **- *New Media: Cambodia's Internet Utilities***

The rise of Internet penetration in the country has opened the window for citizens to nets of global comprehension and critics with autonomously and shortly accessing to the diverse information. Internet and digital tools have transformed way of communication amongst Cambodian youths (Freedom House 2013) by offering spaces for expressing their views on social and political issues such as using social media to express their opinions by accessing, sharing, and commenting. According to Internet World Stats, there are 742,220 users of Facebook (4.8%penetration rate) in Cambodia for 31 December 2013 (Internet World Stats 2014). Cambodian Internet penetration is about 6 percent of the 15 million populations in 2013 (Strangio and Khouth 2008) whereas there are at least 24 Internet service provides (ISPs) in the market. (Freedom House 2013) The number of Internet users is still low compared to neighboring countries— Loa (12,50%), Thailand (28,94%) and Vietnam (43.90%) (International Telecommunication Union 2014).

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Observed on Internet utility, there are a few constrains for Cambodians to access the Internet. Language is one of the obstacles since many Cambodians do not understand well to English language and there is few Khmer applications at online (Strangio and Khouth 2008). The blackout in the nationwide because of insufficiency of electricity supplies also constrains to the uses of computer, digital devices and Internet. Another restriction of Cambodian Internet penetration refers the unavailability of landline Internet network in the rural areas. In 2006, the wireless broadband is introduced in the country and gives the people in the rural area the opportunities for accessing Internet (Freedom House 2013).

Discussed on Internet via mobile phone in Cambodia, a big contribution to the rise of Internet users in Cambodia also results from the coming of smart phone, tablet, and digital tools. (Freedom House 2013) About 98 percent of Internet users reach mobile phone for accessing Internet either via satellite networks or Wi-Fi connection (Suy 2013). In 2013, there are 20,264,514 mobile-cellular telephone subscribers (International Telecommunication Union 2014). The numbers are more than the whole population since some people own more than one mobile. In Cambodia, there are around 10 mobile phone service providers (Freedom House 2013) that push the market more challenges with special bonuses and promotions. For instance, most mobile phone service providers try to encourage their clients with special bonuses of using Internet service on mobile phone with large capacities of downloading and cheap prices. The advance of mobile phone broke the big barrier of communication to broaden social knowledge by inspiring people to access to radio, music, video, and Internet. More than this, mobile phone is used for helps in the run-up to the election of 2007 and 2013 since the politicians use text messages to disseminate their messages while election monitoring group use text messages for collecting data (Freedom House 2013).

Notified on the Internet contents in Cambodia, there is no any legal restriction or censorship of government on the contents on Internet. People are more freedom and independences to surf and produce media contents on Internet including online news, social networks and personal blogs (Freedom House 2013). Freedom of expression on Internet with no ability to control has put more concerns and pressures on the government. Some actions of government intend to restrict on Internet contents are shown including blocking any blogs and websites for hosting any critical contents on the government (Freedom House 2013). In 2011, at least three antigovernment blogs—KI-Media, Khmerisation, and Sacrava— were blocked by most ISPs in Cambodia, according to Freedom House. In May 2012, government initiated the process of draft law on cybercrime in the country, which was criticized nationally and internationally as the act to shutter the Internet's freedom of expression (Carmichael 2014). In November 2012, government announced to close or relocate any Internet cafés within 500

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meters near schools in Phnom Penh and required to forbid any activities of playing “all kinds of game” on Internet that can view as illegal behaviors as committing crimes and pornography (LICADHO 2012).

## Chapter 3:

# Data Visualization

### 3.1 Demographic and Internet Use

In demographic information, we figure out the basic information of respondents on sex, age, level of education, and position in society. At the same, we also seek for the information of Internet uses which focus on level of Internet use, English use, and digital device use, tool of accessing, duration of use, and frequency of use. The information will help much to understand on the level of Internet users and how they expose to Internet. Table 6 below shows the data of the respondents toward basic information and habits of using Internet.

*Table 6: Sample characteristic and Internet use.*

(N=401)		Number	Percent
<b>Sex:</b>			
-	Male:	215	53.6%
-	Female:	186	46.4%
<b>Age:</b>			
-	17	06	1.5%
-	18	14	3.5%
-	19	26	6.5%
-	20	30	7.5%
-	21	46	11.5%
-	22	46	11.5%
-	23	34	8.5%
-	24	39	9.7%
-	25	43	10.7%
-	26	25	6.2%
-	27	22	5.5%
-	28	17	4.2%
-	29	17	4.2%
-	30	13	3.2%
-	31	09	2.2%
-	32	05	1.2%
-	33	03	0.7%
-	34	02	0.5%

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-	35	04	1.0%
<b>Level of Education:</b>			
-	No high school diploma	0	0.0%
-	Currently in high school	9	2.2%
-	Graduated high school, no university	4	1.0%
-	Attend university, stop with no degree	2	0.5%
-	Currently in university	213	53.1%
-	Graduated at university	173	43.1%
<b>Social Position:</b>			
-	Student	220	54.9%
-	Worker in private sector	77	19.2%
-	Worker in public sector	27	6.7%
-	Worker in NGOs	45	11.2%
-	Unemployment	21	5.2%
-	Self Employment	7	1.7%
-	Others	4	1.0%
<b>Device for Accessing:</b>			
-	Smart phone/tablet/ipad	370	92.3%
-	Computer/Laptop at home	309	77.1%
-	Wifi-restaurant	128	31.9%
-	Internet Café	127	31.7%
-	Computer at school or work	156	38.9%
-	Others	3	0.7%
<b>Duration of Use</b>			
-	Less than 6 month	8	2.0%
-	One year	19	4.7%
-	Two years	31	7.7%
-	Three years	34	8.5%
-	More than three years	309	77.1%
<b>Frequency of Use New Media:</b>			
-	Never Use	0	0.0%
-	Less than one a month	5	1.2%
-	Once a month	3	0.7%
-	Several time a month	9	2.2%
-	Once a week	7	1.7%
-	Several time a week	25	6.2%
-	Everyday	352	87.8%
<b>Level of Use:</b>			
1.	<i>Internet</i>		
-	Poor:	3	0.74%
-	Little:	10	2.49%
-	Average:	90	22.44%
-	Good:	199	49.62%
-	Very Good:	99	24.68%
2.	<i>English</i>		
-	Poor:	3	0.74%
-	Little:	13	3.24%
-	Average:	102	25.43%
-	Good:	201	50.12%
-	Very Good:	82	20.44%
3.	<i>Digital device</i>		
-	Poor:	2	0.49%
-	Little:	11	2.74%
-	Average:	87	21.69%
-	Good:	217	54.11%
-	Very Good:	84	20.94%

## 3.2 Understanding of New Media for Political Participation

### 3.2.1 Political Interest

In this section, it attempts to explore the level of citizens' interest in political issue in their daily life. The question is adapted from Nam (2012): "How interest would you say you are in politics?" And the answer is categorized in 4 options assigned from 1 to 4: 1) Not at all (2.0%), 2) Not very (11.5%), 3) somewhat (57.1%) 4) very (29.4%). As demonstrated in the above data, the respondents (57.1%) are likely to be more interests in the politic in the way of "somewhat" while only few respondents (2.0%) ignore at all on politic issue. At the same time, around 29.4% of respondents said they are interested in political issue very much.

*Table 7: Interest in Politics*

How interest would you say you are in politics?		Frequency	Percent	Cumulative Percent	Mean	Median	Std. Deviation
Valid	Not at all	8	2.0	2.0	3.14	3.00	.686
	Not very	46	11.5	13.5			
	Somewhat	229	57.1	70.6			
	Very	118	29.4	100.0			
	Total	401	100.0				

### 3.2.2 Internet Platform for Politics

This question aims to understand what kinds of online platforms that Cambodian people prefer to use for political participation. The measurement is responded by using with 5 scales of frequency starting from "never" to "always". The question is "How often do you use new media to know about politics?" According table 8, it shows that the platform of Internet that users prefer to expose for political participation. Overall, the data present a mixed pictures of platforms such as Facebook, YouTube, others social media, email/chat tool, blog/wikipedia, news website, and website of NGOs or other institutions. Facebook is a main new media platform that people used while news website is running behind. However, email/chat tool and other social media seem to be less interest from the respondents for tool to engage in politics.

*Table 8: Internet platform for political participation*

	Mean	Std. Deviation
- Facebook	3.94	.913
- YouTube	2.75	1.065
- Other social media (Twitter, Myspace, LinkedIn, Flickr, Google plus...)	2.29	1.092
- Email/Chat tool	2.29	1.217
- Blog / Wikipedia	2.32	1.117
- News website	3.24	1.184
- Website of NGOs or other institutions	2.81	1.049

## Data Visualization

### 3.2.3 Truth of Media

The question is attempted to understand the levels of trust in media. The measurement is adopted from likert scare with 5 scale-points are from 1-never true, 2-rarely true, 3-neutral, 4-usually true, 5-always true. The question is “how much truth do you trust on the information of following?” Table 9 shows the various forms of media that people trust on the content of information. The data mixs with new media and traditional media that can also measure on the concepts of trust of people to media. The data reveals that respondents tend to trust on international media rather than national media. Considering on content in new media, the respondents tend to believe more on Internal news website via Internet while social media or website of politicians seem lower than the others. However, respondents seem to trust more on the content of international media.

*Table 9: Perceive of media trust in Cambodia*

	Mean	Std. Deviation
- International news website via Internet	3.61	.754
- Local news website via Internet	2.99	.789
- Social media of friends	2.88	.693
- Social media of popular people (not politician)	2.92	.788
- Social media or website of politicians	2.79	.844
- Blog/ Wikipedia	2.81	.850
- Email/ Chat tool	2.74	.941
- Websites of NGOs or other institutions	3.40	.843
- International television	3.83	.818
- National television	2.88	1.065
- International radio	3.76	.862
- National radio	2.94	.974
- International newspaper	3.83	.809
- National newspaper	2.96	.927

### 3.2.4 Perception to New Media

The question aims to understand the perception of new media users toward political participation via new media. The measurement is adapted from Vitak, & Zube, et al (2009) based on 5 points-scale from strongly disagree to strongly agree which the question is “How much do you agree to these statement?” The table 10 identifies the perception of Internet users toward new media. The data reveals that people seem to consider Internet as an appreciated place for people to express their politics and they also use Internet to express their political views. People also seem not to be interested in the use Internet to convince their friends to vote for their political parties.

## Data Visualization

*Table 10: Users' perception of using new media for political participation*

	Mean	Std. Deviation
- Internet is an appreciated place for people to express their politics	3.67	.825
- I use Internet to express my political views	3.22	1.015
- It's good that we can contact political candidates via internet such as social network account	3.48	.980
- I use Internet to convince my friends to vote	2.55	1.094
- I use Internet to convince my friend to vote for my political party.	2.18	1.107

### 3.2.5 Online Participatory Activities

The question attempts to know the activities of the people using new media for political participation with online and offline activities. The measurement is adapted from Joseph Kahne and Cathy J. Cohen, (2012) using 5 point-scale from “never” to “always”. The question is “how often do you follow these activities?” In the data, it shows the variety of activities that people expose to the Internet for political participation. The activities is identified into two categories: online and offline. The users are lowly engaged in online activities as seen in table 11. Anyways, they are also poorly to engage in offline activities.

*Table 11: Political activities*

	Mean	Std. Deviation
- Started, joined, or followed a political group /page on a social network site (like MySpace, Twitter, or Facebook)	2.69	1.225
- Like, Forward or posted someone else's political commentary or news related to a political campaign, candidate or issue	2.51	1.037
- Contributed your own article, opinion piece, picture, or video about political campaign, candidate or issue to an online new site.	2.23	1.065
- Forwarded or circulated funny video or cartoons or circulated something artistic that related to a political candidate campaign, candidate, or issue.	2.25	1.170
- Commented on a news story or blog about a political campaign, candidate, or issue	2.20	1.060
- Written an email or written a blog about a political campaign, candidate or issue	1.78	.988
- Taken part in a protest, demonstration, or sit-in	1.67	.937
- Participated in a boycott	1.63	.863
- Engaged in a boycotting	1.76	.959
- Participated in an event where young people express their political view (such as a poetry slam, musical event..., etc.	2.10	1.116
- Been active in or joined a group that has worked to address social or political issues.	2.22	1.184



### 3.3 Motivation of Political Participatory

The question tries to understand the motivation of Internet users for political participation based on Use and Gratification Theory. The measurement is based on the works of Ting, Weng Marc Lim & Ding Hooi (2012), Sundar and Limperos (2013) Sundar and Limperous (2013), Sundar and Limperos (2013; Ancu and Cozma, (2009), (Leung 2009). The question uses 5 points of likert scale from “strongly disagree” to “strong agree” and it was questioned with this following: “What are the main motivations that push you to use new media for political participation?” Based on Use and Gratification theory, we identify 4 factors—information, personal identity/self-expression, social interaction, and entertainment— that people’s motivation on using new media for political participation. Information is the most common motivation among the others while intention for revealing personal identity/self expression, social interaction and entertainment are running behind respectively. Tabel 12 shows clearly on all indicators of measurement to identify those four motivation.

*Table 12: Motivation based on Use and Gratification*

	Mean	Std. Deviation
<b>Information:</b>		
- I feel It is important that new media are able to give me information of politics that is of interest to me.	3.67	.870
- I feel accurate political information on new media improves my conceptual understanding.	3.47	.818
- I feel timely information on politics via new media keeps my performance updated.	3.66	.803
- I feel information on politics via new media is useful for my decision-making.	3.47	.836
- I feel information on politics via new media makes me easier to compare on new contents available on TV, radio, or newspaper.	3.71	.827
<b>Personal Identity/ Self-Expression:</b>		
- It allows me to send my thoughts to many on an ongoing basis.	3.40	.831
- It allows me to assert my identity.	3.08	.840
- It gives me the power to broadcast to my followers.	3.13	.912
- It gives me control on political issue.	2.96	.920
- I am able to influence how politics looks/works.	3.06	.917
- It makes me to realise that I am part of the community.	4.00	.855
<b>Social Interaction:</b>		
- It allow me to build social capital	3.00	.804
- I expect to interact with many people in system	3.00	.818
- To engage in discussion with the candidate.	2.94	.935
- To meet other supporters of the candidate.	2.97	.956
- To find out what other people have to say	3.52	.881
<b>Entertainment:</b>		
- I feel it entertain to use new media for political participation.	2.87	.884
- I find that politics is fun topic to discuss on new media.	2.70	.936
- I feel excited when I expressed views (liked, wrote, shared, or commented) on politics via new media.	2.91	.966
- I fell accessing new media for politics participation provides me to escape loneliness and kill time.	2.61	.994

## Chapter 4:

# Implementation

The main objective of this study is to provide a baseline understanding to the ordinary citizens, journalists, and politicians on the usages of new media for political participation. According the trend of technology improvement in Cambodia, we observe that new media has changed the habit of new Cambodian generation with digital devices, which can access to new media (Internet) easily and fast. Therefore, the study will play a main role to discuss on the above current issue of people's conceptual understanding and reason of use toward new media for political participation. To explore on the purpose of this studying, we separate into two main sessions—conceptual understanding and motivation of new media for political participation.

### 4.1 Understanding of New Media for Political Participation

In this part, we explore the five main points that can lead to identify the user's conceptual understanding of new media for political participation. We explore on the interests, the accessing platform, media trust, perception of new media consumers, and activities of audiences using media for political participation. And these will answer to the research question 1: *How do Cambodian citizens understand on the use of new media in political participation?*

#### 4.1.1 Interest in Political Participation

The results from the questionnaire show that the respondents are moderately interested in politics with 57.1% while 29.4% are very interested in. The citizens give much attention on political phenomenon since politic is a main issue for social changes and affect to daily life of all citizens. Even they are interested in political issues, they are likely not to perform much in the society on political issues. Since the past to the present, the Cambodian politics have been a sensitive matter that people are afraid of discussing publicly. Nothing seriously happens to citizens if they discuss on political issues that do not affect to anyone's reputation. However, there is a few cases of killing or imprisoning journalists or political activists for criticizing on the high-ranking governmental officials. It makes the citizens feel unsafe for discussing on those issues. Somehow, citizens find it hard to express their political opinions since there is not place or anyone that they can trust for sharing or expressing. Therefore, the culture of political

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expression seems to be low, and citizens remain to be silence on these issues in Cambodia (LICAHDO 2008).

Anyways, the level of political interest can depend on the factor of education. Education is identified as the key point to develop and generate the ability of critical thinking. Citizens will perform and judge well on the social issues if the level of education is high. According to the result, 55.36% of all respondents are identified as students at university while 44.13% have graduated at least bachelor degree. Only 2 respondents did not finish university. This result fits to the assumption above. Most of respondents from 17 to 35 years old receive the education at university that can shape the interest of politics more. This can be inferred to the fifth Cambodia's National Assembly Election in 2013 that the latest election engaged Cambodian citizens under 25 years old into political involvement, especially via new media by Facebook (Greenwood 2013). Estimated 3.5 millions voters were young citizen, aged from 18 to 30 years old, out of 9.6 millions of registered voters for the 28 July election (Phnom Penh Post 2013).

*Table 13: Political interests attached to educational level.*

Level of Education	Respondents (N=401)	Percentage
Attend university, stop with no degree	2	0.49
Currently in University	222	55.36
Graduated at university	177	44.13

On the other hand, social status can also influence to citizens' political interests. Social status refers to the fields of study or positions of working in the society. This also influences to citizens' interest of politics. The result of this study shows that 54.86% of respondents are students and 37.15% works on private, public, and NGOs sectors. Those groups seem to be active actors with great concern about political and social movements. It is also important to understand that about 35% of the population in Cambodia lives under line of poverty (BBC Media Action, 2012). This fact can put pressure on citizens to be a way from media and political issues. Poor living standards indirectly force people to ignore on most of social and political issues. They prioritize much on earning rather than sticking to social issues.

*Table 14: Political interest attached to social position*

Social Position	Respondents (N=401)	Percentage
Student	220	54.86
Worker (private, public, and NGOs sectors)	149	37.15
Unemployed	21	5.23
Self-Employed	7	1.74
Others (no specific job)	4	0.99

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### **4.1.2 Accessing Platforms for Political Participation**

According to our results, Facebook is a main tool for engaging to politics. The other platforms such as news website, YouTube, NGOs/institutional website, blog/wiki, email/chat, and other social media are far behind. Why is Facebook? In December 2012, the number of Facebook Cambodian users has grown to 742,220 subscribers (Internet World Stats 2014), and it is still increasing up to present. In Cambodian context, Facebook is a tool for seeking information, building network, exposing to entertainment (Saray, et al, 2010). At meantime, it also helps to promote social issues such as political changes, social injustice, and poverty. During the election in 2013, Facebook was a main tool to integrate youths into political participation by sharing, posting, and giving comments on this popular platform (Greenwood 2013). Besides individual page, Facebook has special features that encourage the citizens to be able to share largely and receive information from various sources. Therefore, Facebook becomes the effective tool that the citizens can use to make impacts to Cambodia politics. Not only the citizens access to Facebook for political engagement, but the politicians also have their Facebook account to use for personal promotion and political benefits. Facebook becomes the potential tool for citizens and politicians to interact and to understand on the current issues of society.

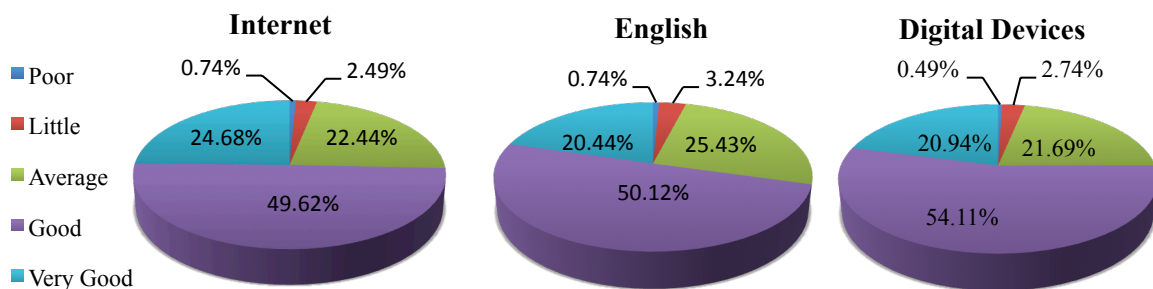
News websites are the second choice that individuals use for political awareness. Contents of news websites are touchy and related to social interests. In Cambodia, there are several kinds of online news websites that try to portrait the hot issues of Cambodia such as political issues. However, there are a few new websites that the people trust and believe as neutral. Most of those websites are website that supported or funded from international agencies while some local websites seem to broadcast for a group of people's benefits (Roberts 2011). However, news websites are the main sources that help the citizens to know and update on social information quickly and easily. Such its contents will be shared and discussed widely on social networks. It has become the new trends of social discussion in Cambodia contexts.

However, the feasibility of accessing new media is still limited because of Internet coverage services, capacity of English and the Citizens' possibility to access to digital devices such as smartphones and computers. Only 6% of Cambodians used Internet in 2013. This is lower than Loa (12,50%), Thailand (28,94%) and Vietnam (43.90%) (International Telecommunication Union, 2014). The restriction of Cambodian Internet penetration refers the unavailability of landline Internet network in the rural areas. In 2006, the wireless broadband was introduced in the country and gave to people in rural areas the opportunity for accessing

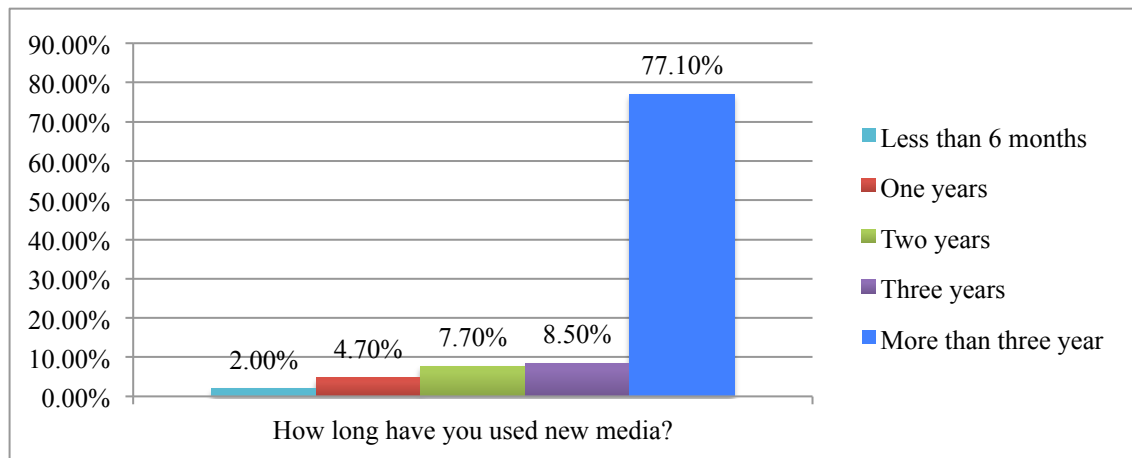
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Internet (Freedom House 2013). Language is one of the obstacles since many Cambodians do not understand well English language and there is few Khmer applications online. (Strangio and Khouth 2008). Constant blackouts due to insufficiency of electricity supplies also constrains the use of computer, digital devices and Internet (Freedom House 2013). In this study, most of respondents seem more understanding on the level of using Internet, English and digital devices. Most of them have used new media more than three years.

*Figure 1: Level of citizens' capacities toward uses of Internet, English and digital devices.*



*Figure 2: Duration of respondents who use new media*



### 4.1.3 Level of Trust on New and Traditional Media

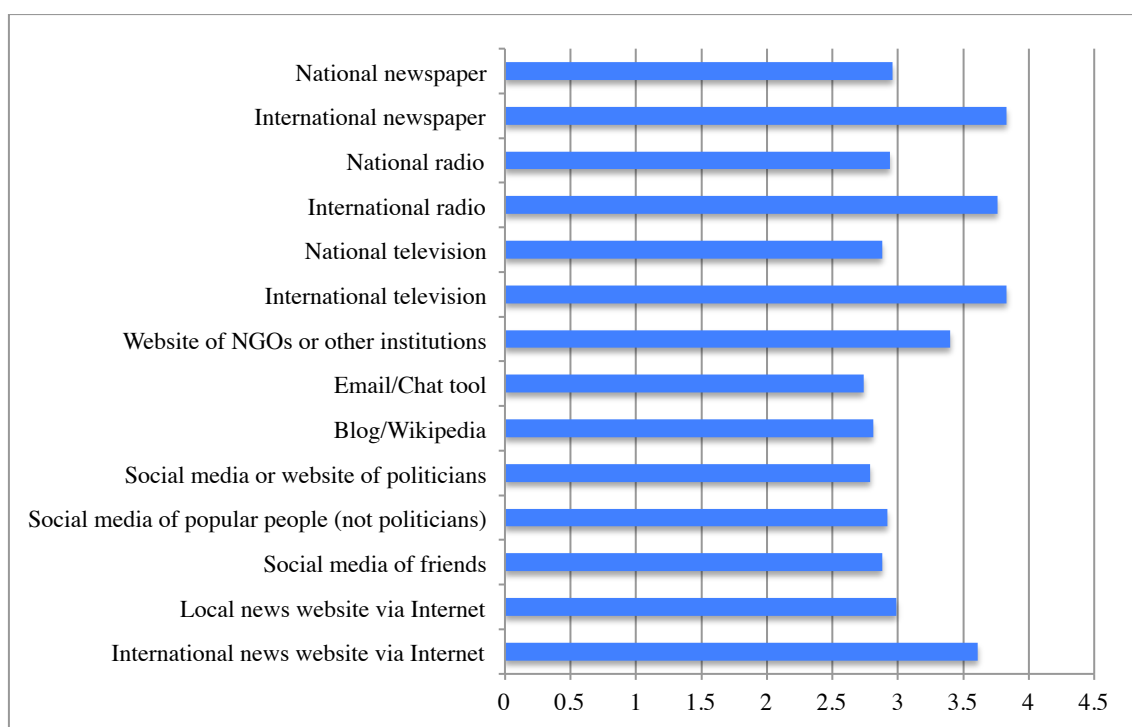
Regarding to trust on media, we can conclude that the respondents seem to believe in the contents of international media more than the ones of national media. There are many evidences that discourage citizens to feel positive towards national media such as political bias, governmental media restriction, lack of professionalism and ethics, self-censorship or bribery (BBC Media Action, 2012). Most national media are affiliated to ruling party while international ones are trying to remain balance and fair contents in publishing news. During the local election for district and commune in 2012, media broadcast time allocated for opposition

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party was far less than ruling party (BBC Media Action, 2012). Furthermore, international media agencies such as Voice of America and Radio Free Asia were banned for broadcasting during local election in 2012 and one online blog called KI-Media criticized the government (BBC Media Action, 2012). This shows that Cambodian government treats differently between national and international new agencies. Therefore, it also influences the level of trust of people toward media in Cambodia.

Going further into the trust on new media, we raise 8 new media platforms including (1) international news website via Internet, (2) local news website via Internet, (3) social media of friends, (4) social media of popular people who are not politicians, (5) social media or website of politicians, (6) blog/Wikipedia, (7) Email/chat tool, (8) website of NGOs or other institutions. Among the eight indicators, we find out that most respondents believe in the contents of international news website via Internet than others. After that, the respondents also express to believe in the contents of website of NGOs or other institutions. However, social media, which most respondents often access, is not the place where the respondents can trust.

*Figure 3: The mean scores of respondents' trust on media (from 1 to 5 scales)*



### 4.1.4 Perception toward New Media for Political Participation

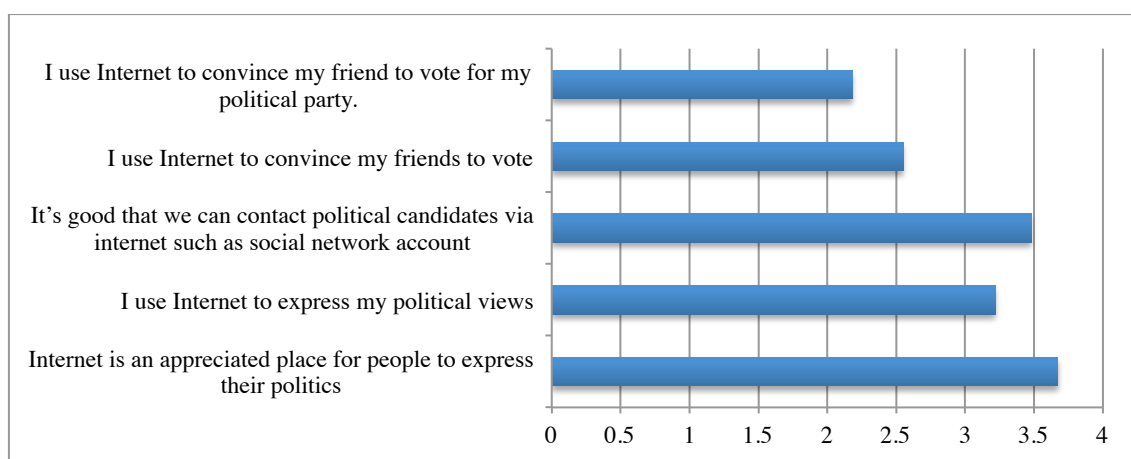
This study addresses five statements to understand how citizens feel about the use of new media for political engagement: “Internet is an appreciated place for people to express their politics”; “I use Internet to express my political views”; “It’s good that we can contact political candidates via Internet such as social network account”; “I use Internet to convince my friend to

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vote”; and “I use internet to convince my friend to vote for my political party”. Respondents claim that Internet is a good place to discuss politics, express their views, communicate with politicians. This type of communication can conduct independently and reach to large audiences (Kanhé & Cohen 2012).

Our results show that some young citizens use Internet for following up the activities of politicians and officials, contacting public official and candidates, expressing the views on government or politics to others, learning political issues, and for browsing political information with no specific purposes. This case is similar with the study of Bimber (2001) who demonstrated that US adult access new media to keep on the politicians’ track by asking, following up, and updating on activities of politicians and officers. By the power of using new media for social expression, the citizens can be as the citizen journalists unintentionally who capture at the place of the issue, and spread it on their social media. New media seem to provide more opportunities for consumers to express and share their thoughts. The future Cambodian democracy can grow upon how new media are implemented.

*Figure 4: The mean scores of respondents’ perception on media (from 1 to 5 scales)*



### 4.1.5 Activities of Using New Media for Political Participation

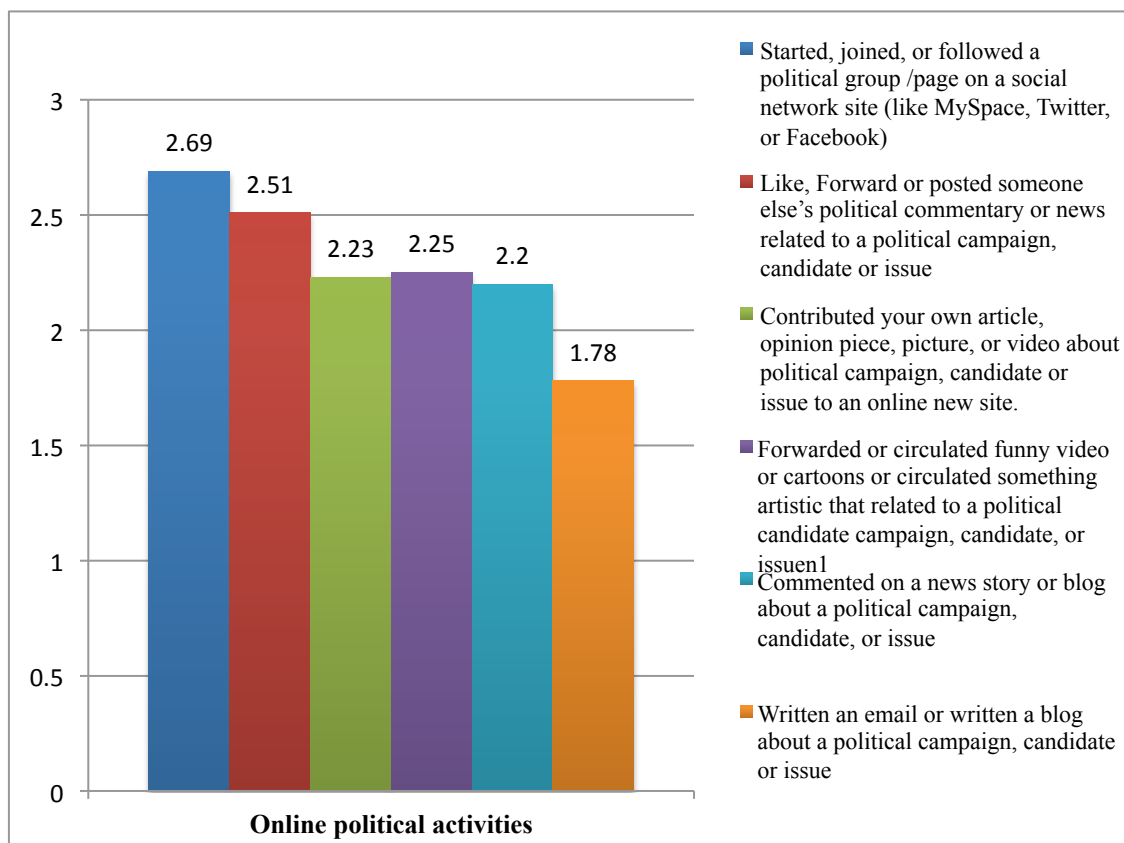
This study tries to check eleven activities that consist of online and offline participation—six activities of online activities and five from offline activities. Commonly activities that the respondents involve are seen through online activities which they list from joining social networks or online forum, sharing their idea through clicking “like”, sharing or posting on interested issues, producing their articles or writing to news agency, forwarding political content-related video or picture, commenting on stories of political issues, and writing email or blog for social sharing about politics.

Results of the study reveal that respondents understand the implementation of new media as the same away as the study of Kanhe and Cohen (2012). These authors studied new media

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and political action among youths in Europe. It showed that the level of youth participation in politics varied depending on the action of youths. Referring to this result to be seen below (Figure 5), online political activities are of low rate. The most respondents seem not to perform their action for online political activities. In this case, we view on three points of communicative and participative skills—social relations, citizen participation, and content creation—from study of EAVI for the European Commission (2009). New media can function to improve the sense of social relations, citizen participation, and content creation, but in politics via new media, the citizens tend to lost motivation or limit their activities besides just keeping update rather than showing it to public. Political activities need to take more times, energies and initiatives (Kanhé and Cohen, 2012) according to the critical thinking and understanding of citizen.

*Figure 5: Mean scores of online political activities (from 1 to 5 scales)*



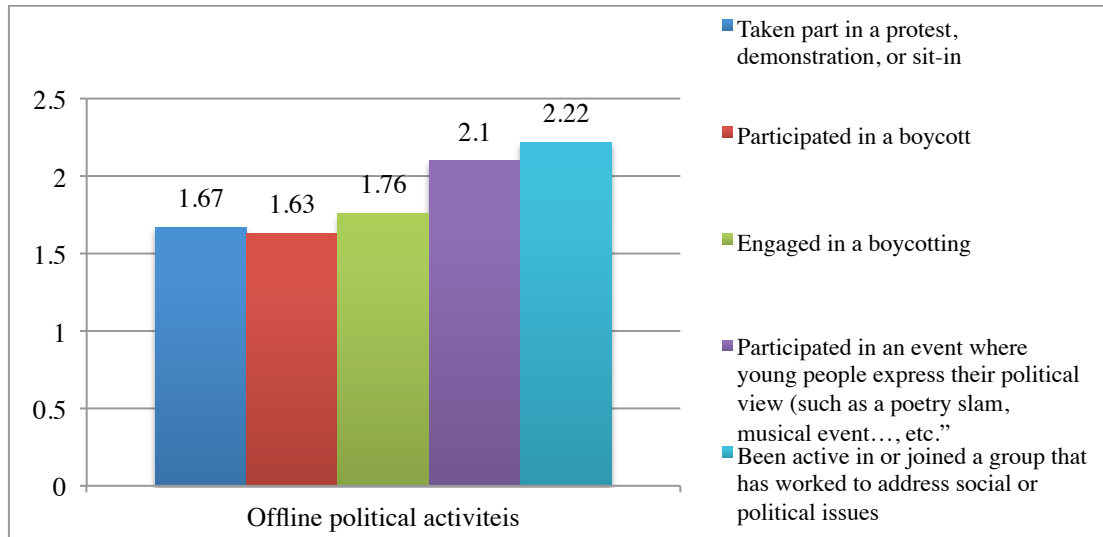
Offline political activities are seemingly far from new media participation. However, it is the result from new media participation. It intends to understand how citizens perform in the politics offline after they are involved in online political engagement. The result for this phenomenon is addressed with five activities in figure 6. It shows that individuals tend to ignore participation in offline activities. Kanhe and Cohen (2012) mentioned that online politics today commonly show what citizens have conventionally seen in political realm and they are not necessary willing to participate into politics. Therefore, it makes them less interested in online



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or offline political activities. However, they are interested in participatory norms, values and practice of political participation (Kanhé & Cohen, 2012).

Figure 6: Mean score of offline political activities (from 1 to 5 scales)



Between online and offline activities, online activities are more participated than offline ones, even these activities are not much engaged by the respondents. Online activities keep the distance of identity revealed, threaten and insured. On the other hand, offline activities seems to fit to groups who are obsessing on political movement and part of political parties who can devote times and efforts for offline activities.

In Cambodian context, we found out that Cambodian citizens consist of two types of participations among the three that Dario and Ilcheva (2010) claimed. Cambodian citizens seem to practice conventional participation, referring activities of politics without violence; while unconventional participation are also seen which is explained as any activities that are considered legal but are shown inappropriate manner such as signing petitions, supporting boycotts, and organizing demonstrations or protests. Fortunately, Cambodia political participation does not exist with illegal participation that can be viewed as political assassination, terrorism, damaging the opponent's property, committing vandalism (SparkNotes Editors, nd.).

## 4.2 Motivation for Political Participation

In this part, we elaborate on the motivaion of Cambodian citizens regarding to using new media for political participaiton, adapting with the Use and Gratification theory. This part will answer research question 2: *Why do citizen use new media for political participation?*

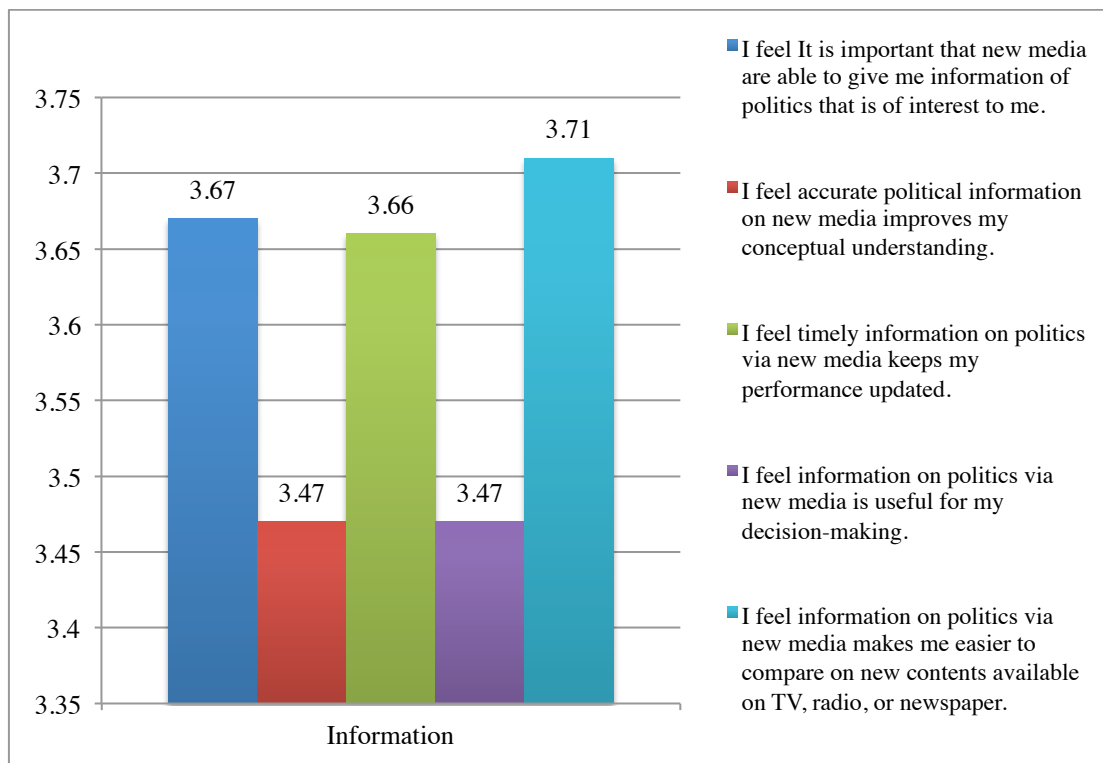
Use and Gratification Theory is commonly the basic element that most researchers (Katz, Blumler, and Gurevitch, 1974; Sundar and Limperos, 2013; Ancu and Cozma, 2009; Rubin

## Implementation

2009) discuss for motivation of accessing to media. Use and gratification briefly demonstrates on how active the audience is to use media in order to gratify the contents of media (Rubin 2009). The audience is a receiver that has choices to select media contents that he or she needs rather than to be passive in receiving messages. In this study, Use and Gratification Theory is adapted to understand the motivation of audiences accessing new media for political participation. We address four categories of the theory including seeking for information, personal identity/self-expression, social interaction, and entertainment.

Information is one of the motive element of Use and Gratification that individual access to new media. The study reveals that information is one of most common motivations among the respondents which is addressed by five statements with likert scale from 1 to 5, as seen in figure 7. All statements remain high in scale that can be inferred that respondents prioritize on the information of the politics. And it become one of main reason the push them to use new media for political participation.

Figure 7: Mean scores of information gratification (from 1 to 5 scales)

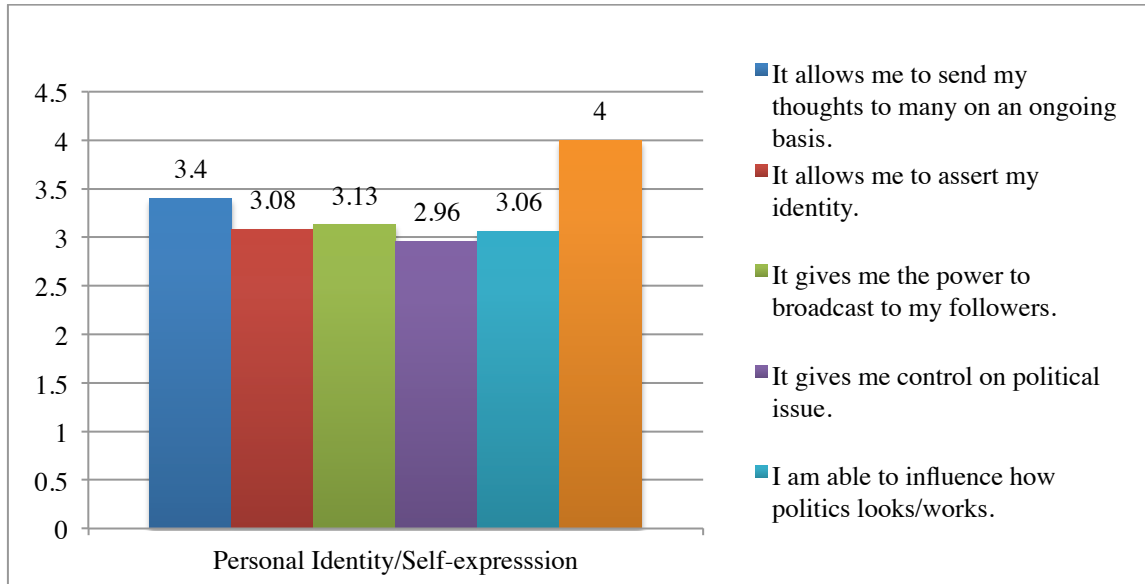


Secondly, respondents intend to use new media to explore their *personal identity/ self-expression*, according to figure 8. Personal identity/ self-expression will guide them to find what they need and what belong to their favorites and characteristics. Besides that, it means to build up their confidences and social roles in the community. Through new media, the respondents can know how much they understand on politics, and what level of their abilities performing in

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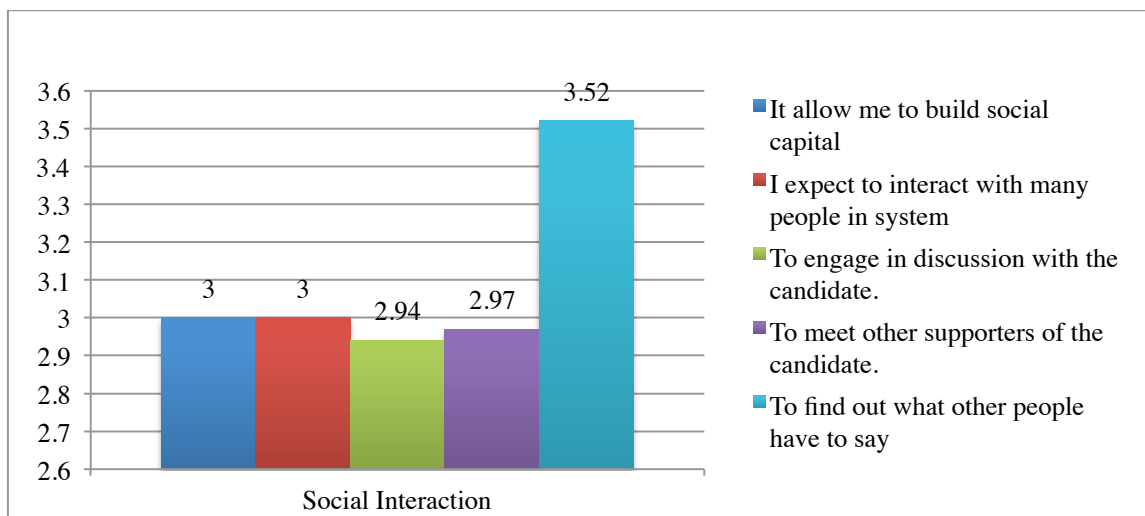
the social issues such a political matter. New media encourage them to explore on politics for their potentialities and impacts to social changes.

Figure 8: Mean scores of personal Identity/Self-expression gratification (from 1 to 5 scales)



Thirdly, *social interaction* presents moderated levels of agreement. Since the nature of new media is no bordering. So, it leads many people to be able to communicate and discuss several issues on the platforms of new media. It encourages the sense of socialization among the users. For instance, people can use new media to build their social capital, to interact with diversity of people, to discuss online with politicians, to meet other supporters of politics, and to update on what people say in politics (figure 9).

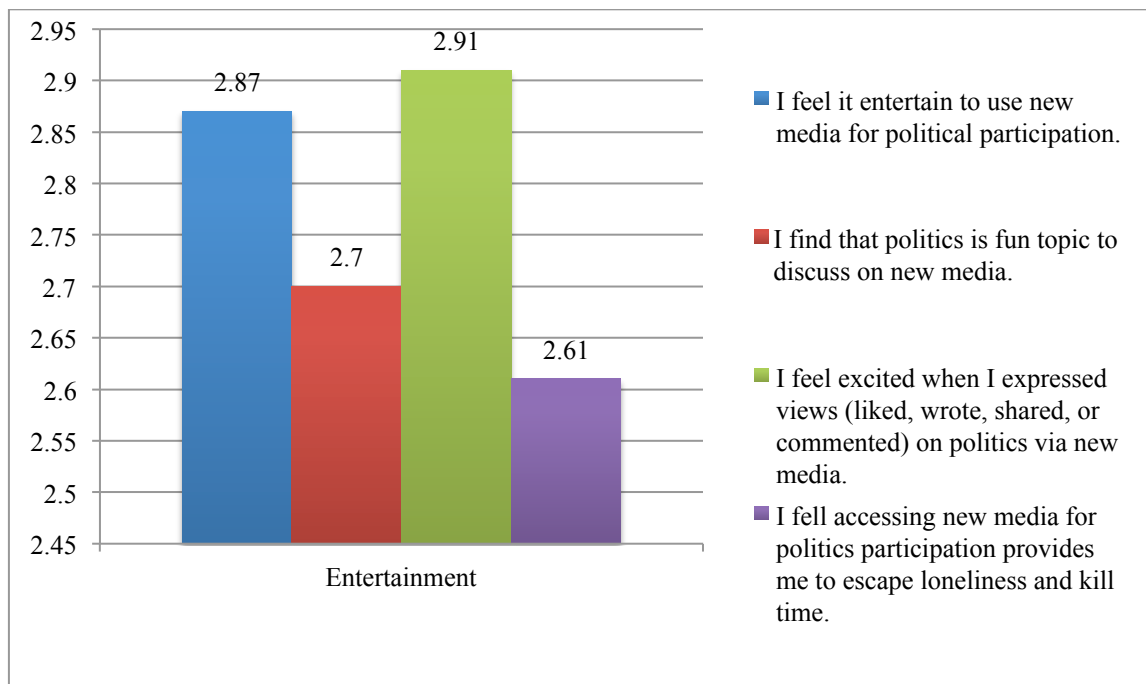
Figure 9: Mean scores of social interaction gratification (from 1 to 5 scales)



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Lastly, *entertainment* is another gratification, which is less common among the respondents, being lower than other elements. Political issue is known as the hot issues for discussing, and it seems not really fit with any people who intend to look for entertainment. However, mean score of this element is uper than 50% by 2.77 on 1 to 5 likert scale. It can be inferred that the respondents tend to use new media for political participation as the mean for entertainment. In some points, this element can work with people who addict to politics and find politics as one the hobby activities to kill time.

Figure 10: Mean scores of entertainment gratification (from 1 to 5 scales)



To sum up, Cambodian citizen access to new media for their specific purpose. They use new media effectively to be involved in political issues. Anyways, seeking for information, looking for personal identity or self-expression, maintaining social interaction, and exploring of entertainment are the main motivations identified by this study. Additionally, other reports were written that people use new media for political participation since new media provides the senses of greater independent in political realm without circumventing from gatekeeper of information or influences. It also boosts the engagement with the audiences for social campaign or movement, and it's also able to shape the news agenda in media system and social dialogues. Last, using new media can reach to the large audiences with ease and cheap prices (Kanhe & Cohen 2012).

## **Chapter 5:**

# **Conclusion and Furture Work**

Political participation via new media becomes the new trend for Cambodian young citizens. New media offer a safe mean for freedom of expression to the society. Comparing to traditional media such as newspaper, radio and television, new media exactly gain more popularity since it provides not only news contents but also the interactivities of feedback expression and content delivery to many sources in short time. However, it is also dependent of civic and political attitude and participation of young citizens (Peou and Chea 2011) in order to receive true and correct democracy.

This study presents evidences that users of new media aged from 17 to 35 years old are interested in political issues, and express their pariticipation on new media moderately. When new media did not exist in the country, since politics were considered as a sensitive issue, Cambodian citizens seemed to limit their discussion about this matter. However, the advance of digital devices and accessibility to Internet change the habits of political discussion and participation. Many platforms of new media provide the space for citizen freely and independently expose news contents and social expression without all kinds of censorship and influences. It enhances the citizens with the sense of audience participation for social campaign or movement, and also provides the citizens possibly to manage the contents for online and offline discussion. It is also an interlinked space for the citizens to interact and follow up with politicians.

On the other hand, users can work as journalists, spreading contents with social media. New media seem to provide more opportunity for users to express and share their thoughts. The

## **Conclusion and Furture Work**

future Cambodian democracy can grow upon how new media are used. Online news websites and NGOs/Institutions websites are responded as the good news providers that people access for their contents in order to spread those contents on their social media pages. Users play as the second news providers after the news agencies by sharing and pasting from one to many.

New media presently seem to attach to the daily activities of the young citizens for seeking information, socialization, self-identity and expression. It helps to enhance the situation of democracy in Cambodia. Historically, Cambodia political situation has conveyed the mindset of the citizens to be away from public discussion and change the society to be seriously looked constraint and restriction for the social express. However, the advance of new media have changed those situation and became the space that push citizen express and share freely without concerning the threat or harm.

This study helps people to understand the nature of people access to new media for political participation and its motivation. However, it has some limitations. First of all, it does not analyze influences and impacts of using new media for political participation. Then, some data about internet use in Cambodia is not recent or it is not very reliable. Furthermore, the sample could be bigger and we do not know if it represents the population due to lack of information. Nevertheless, this dissertation represents an important reflection about the role of digital media in mobilizing people in a transitional post-socialist society. This study can be used as a baseline for other works analyzing influences and impacts of using new media for political participation in Cambodia or similar societies.

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## Appendix A: Pre-test Questionnaire

### I. Personal Information/ Use of New Media

1. Sex: ☐ Male ☐ Female
2. Age:..... years old
3. Where are you from? (City or province, please specify the name)  
.....
4. Level of Education
 

<input type="checkbox"/> No high school diploma	<input type="checkbox"/> Attend University, Stop with no degree
<input type="checkbox"/> Currently in high school	<input type="checkbox"/> Currently in University
<input type="checkbox"/> Graduated high school, No university	<input type="checkbox"/> Graduated at university

(Source: Joseph Kahne and Cathy J. Cohen, 2012)

5. What field are you studying or working?  
.....
6. Are you currently studying or working?
 

<input type="checkbox"/> Student	<input type="checkbox"/> Private staff	<input type="checkbox"/> State staff
<input type="checkbox"/> NGO staff	<input type="checkbox"/> Unemployed	<input type="checkbox"/> Others (specify...)
7. What are your levels of understanding of these following?

	Very Good	Good	Average	Little	Poor
Use of Internet					
Use of English language					
Use of Digital Device (Computer, Laptop, Phone, Tablet...)					

8. How do you access to new media (Internet)? *(You can choose more than one)*

<input type="checkbox"/> Smart phone / tablet/ Ipad	<input type="checkbox"/> Internet café
<input type="checkbox"/> Computer/ laptop at home	<input type="checkbox"/> Computer at school or workplace
<input type="checkbox"/> Wi-Fi restaurant	
9. How long do you use new media (Internet)?
 

<input type="checkbox"/> Less than 6 months	<input type="checkbox"/> One year	<input type="checkbox"/> Two years
<input type="checkbox"/> Three years	<input type="checkbox"/> More than three years	
10. How often do you use Internet?

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- ☐ Less than once months      ☐ Once a month      ☐ Several times a month  
☐ Once a week      ☐ Several time a week      ☐ Everyday

### II. Understanding on New Media in Political Participation

11. How interest would you say you are in politics?

- ☐ Not at all      ☐ Not very      ☐ Sometimes      ☐ Very

12. How much time on a typical day do you spend on the following user-accessed content activities on

User Accessed Contents for Politics	Never	Rarely	Sometimes	Often	Always
Facebook					
Twitter					
MySpace					
YouTube					
Blog					
Wikipedia					
Email/Chat					
News website					
Institutional Website					
Others (Specify...)					

13. How much do you believe in the information of these following?

	Strongly disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly agree
Local news website via Internet					
International news website via Internet					
Statue, Photo or Video that posted or shared by others in social network (not available in mainstream media)					
Information in Blog					
Video in YouTube					
Social network of popular people (not politicians)					
Social network of politicians					
Websites of ruling party					
Websites of opposition party					
Websites of NGOs					
International television					
National television					
International radio					

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National radio					
International newspaper					
National newspaper					
Others (specify...)					

14. How do you feel to this statements:

**Strongly Disagree Neutral Agree Strongly**  
**disagree agree**

<b>Perception:</b>					
Internet is an appreciated place for people to express their politics					
I use Internet to express my political views					
It's good that we can contact political candidates via internet such as social network account					
I use Internet to convince my friends to vote					
I use Internet to convince my friend to vote for my political party.					

15. How often do you follow these activities?

**Never Rarely Sometimes Often Always**

<b>Online activities:</b>					
Started, joined, or followed a political group /page on a social network site (like MySpace, Twitter, or Facebook)					
Like, Forward or posted someone else's political commentary or news related to a political campaign, candidate or issue					
Contributed your own article, opinion piece, picture, or video about political campaign, candidate or issue to an online new site.					
Forwarded or circulated funny video or cartoons or circulated something artistic that related to a political candidate campaign, candidate, or issue.					
Commented on a news story or blog about a political					

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campaign, candidate, or issue					
Written an email or written a blog about a political campaign, candidate or issue					
<b>Offline activity:</b>					
Taken part in a protest, demonstration, or sit-in					
Participated in a boycott					
Engaged in a boycotting					
Participated in an event where young people express their political view (such as a poetry slam, musical event..., etc.					
Been active in or joined a group that has worked to address social or political issues.					

*(Source: Joseph Kahne and Cathy J. Cohen, 2012)*

### III. Motivation on New Media In Political Participation

16. What are the main motivations that push you to use new media for political participation?

	<b>Strongly disagree</b>	<b>Disagree</b>	<b>Neutral</b>	<b>Agree</b>	<b>Strongly agree</b>
<b>Information:</b>					
I feel It is important that new media are able to give me information of politics that is of interest to me.					
I feel accurate political information on new media improves my conceptual understanding.					
I feel timely information on politics via new media keeps my performance updated.					
I feel information on politics via new media is useful for my decision-making.					
I feel information on politics via new media makes me easier to compare on new contents available on TV, radio, or newspaper.					
<b>Personal Identity/ Self-Expression:</b>					
It allow me to send my thoughts to many on an ongoing basis					
It allow me to assert my identity					
It gives me the power to broadcast to my followers					



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<b><i>Dynamic Control/Community Building</i></b>					
It gives me control on political issue					
I am able to influence how politics looks/works					
It make me to realize that I am part of the community					
It allow me to build social capital					
<b><i>Social Interaction</i></b>					
I expect to interact with many people in system					
To engage in discussion with the candidate.					
To meet other supporters of the candidate.					
To find out what other people have to say					
<b><i>Entrainment:</i></b>					
I feel it entertain to use new media for political participation.					
I find that politics is fun topic to discuss on new media.					
I feel excited when I expressed views (liked, wrote, shared, or commented) on politics via new media.					
I fell accessing new media for politics participation provides me to escape loneliness and kill time.					

\*\*Optional: *In case you are happy to be contacted further about political participation via new media, please write your email here: Email: .....*

## Appendix B: Online Questionnaire

Hello, I am Sovannara Chan, a Cambodian Master student studying at the University of Porto in Portugal. Currently, I am conducting a research in order to obtain my master degree and I would like to ask you to spend around 10 minutes to complete this online survey. The main goal is to understand how and why citizens access new media for political participation in Cambodia. All information collected will be kept strictly confidential. Thank you very much.

Further information, please contact via email [csovannara@gmail.com](mailto:csovannara@gmail.com) (student) or [moutinho@fep.up.pt](mailto:moutinho@fep.up.pt) (supervisor).

### I. Understanding on New Media in Political Participation

1. How interest would you say you are in politics?  
☐ Not at all    ☐ Not very    ☐ Sometimes    ☐ Very

2. How often do you use new media (Internet) to know about politics?

	Never	Rarely	Sometimes	Often	Always
Facebook					
YouTube					
Other social media (Twitter, Myspace, LinkedIn, Flickr, Google plus...)					
Email/Chat tool					
Blog / Wikipedia					
News website					
Website of NGOs or other institutions					

3. How much truth do you trust on the information of the following?

	Never True	Rarely True	Neutral	Usually True	Always
International news website via Internet					
Local news website via Internet					
Social media of friends					
Social media of popular people (not politician)					
Social media or website of politicians					
Blog/ Wikipedia					
Email/ Chat tool					
Websites of NGOs or other institutions					
International television					
National television					
International radio					
National radio					
International newspaper					
National newspaper					

4. How much do you agree to these statements?

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	<b>Strongly disagree</b>	<b>Disagree</b>	<b>Neutral</b>	<b>Agree</b>	<b>Strongly agree</b>
Internet is an appreciated place for people to express their politics					
I use Internet to express my political views					
It's good that we can contact political candidates via internet such as social network account					
I use Internet to convince my friends to vote					
I use Internet to convince my friend to vote for my political party.					

### 5. How often do you follow these activities?

	<b>Never</b>	<b>Rarely</b>	<b>Sometimes</b>	<b>Often</b>	<b>Always</b>
Started, joined, or followed a political group /page on a social network site (like MySpace, Twitter, or Facebook)					
Like, Forward or posted someone else's political commentary or news related to a political campaign, candidate or issue					
Contributed your own article, opinion piece, picture, or video about political campaign, candidate or issue to an online new site.					
Forwarded or circulated funny video or cartoons or circulated something artistic that related to a political candidate campaign, candidate, or issue.					
Commented on a news story or blog about a political campaign, candidate, or issue					
Written an email or written a blog about a political campaign, candidate or issue					
Taken part in a protest, demonstration, or sit-in					
Participated in a boycott					
Engaged in a boycotting					
Participated in an event where young people express their political view (such as a poetry slam, musical event..., etc.					
Been active in or joined a group that has worked to address social or political issues.					

## II. Motivation on New Media In Political Participation

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### 6. Why do you use new media for political participation?

**Strongly disagree    Disagree    Neutral    Agree    Strongly agree**

<b>Information:</b>					
I feel It is important that new media are able to give me information of politics that is of interest to me.					
I feel accurate political information on new media improves my conceptual understanding.					
I feel timely information on politics via new media keeps my performance updated.					
I feel information on politics via new media is useful for my decision-making.					
I feel information on politics via new media makes me easier to compare on new contents available on TV, radio, or newspaper.					
<b>Personal Identity/ Self-Expression:</b>					
It allows me to send my thoughts to many on an ongoing basis.					
It allows me to assert my identity.					
It gives me the power to broadcast to my followers.					
It gives me control on political issue.					
I am able to influence how politics looks/works.					
It makes me to realize that I am part of the community.					
<b>Social Interaction</b>					
It allow me to build social capital					
I expect to interact with many people in system					
To engage in discussion with the candidate.					
To meet other supporters of the candidate.					
To find out what other people have to say					
<b>Entrainment:</b>					
I feel it entertain to use new media for political participation.					
I find that politics is fun topic to discuss on new media.					
I feel excited when I expressed views (liked, wrote, shared, or commented) on politics via new media.					
I fell accessing new media for politics participation provides me to escape loneliness and kill time.					

**III. Personal Information/ Use of New Media**

7. Sex: ☐ Male ☐ Female

8. Age:..... years old

9. Level of Education

☐ No high school diploma

☐ Attend University, Stop with no degree

☐ Currently in high school

☐ Currently in University

☐ Graduated high school, No university

☐ Graduated at university

10. Are you currently studying or working?

☐ Student

☐ Worker in private sector

☐ Worker in public sector

☐ Worker in NGOs

☐ Unemployed

11. What are your levels of understanding of these following?

	Poor	Little	Average	Good	Very Good
Use of Internet					
Use of English language					
Use of Digital Device (Computer, Laptop, Phone, Tablet...)					

12. How do you access to new media (Internet)? *(You can choose more than one)*

☐ Smart phone / tablet/ Ipad

☐ Internet café

☐ Computer/ laptop at home

☐ Computer at school or workplace

☐ Wi-Fi restaurant

☐ Others (Please, specify...)

13. How long do you use new media (Internet)?

☐ Less than 6 months

☐ One year

☐ Two years

☐ Three years

☐ More than three years

14. How often do you use Internet?

☐ Never use

☐ Less than once months

☐ Once a month

☐ Several times a month

☐ Once a week

☐ Several time a week

☐ Everyday

15. If you have any comments, questions or concerns, please write here:

.....  
 .....

16. In case you are happy to be contacted further about political participation via new media, please write your email

here:.....

###